

In October 2002, Lieutenant Adams was assigned as an exchange officer with the British Royal Navy's 849th Squadron, now on the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*.

An avid soccer fan who had volunteered to go to Japan with the carrier *Kitty Hawk* in time for the World Cup finals last summer, he joined a local team near his base in Helston, England.

Lieutenant Adams's family said he particularly enjoyed his time with the Royal Navy for two reasons: Every ship had a pub onboard, and he was allowed a weekly 20-minute phone call home. He died with the Royal Navy when the helicopter he was flying collided with another helicopter over the Persian Gulf. He was just 27 years old.

Mr. President, we all wish for a quick resolution of this war to limit casualties, military and civilian, American, allied, and Iraqi. We wish that American and coalition forces will be able to liberate the people of Iraq soon, and that our men and women will be able to return home to their families. Until then, however, they remain in our thoughts and our prayers, along with those who have already fallen.

All Americans owe an enormous, an almost incalculable debt to these young men who were willing to sacrifice their own futures for the future of this country they so dearly loved so that we, as a people, might be safe and free. Their sacrifices must never be forgotten.

I thank the Chair.

#### TRIBUTE TO DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mr. LAUTENBERG. At the same time, I wish to pay tribute to a dear friend who passed away yesterday, Senator forever, Pat Moynihan.

I came to the Senate 6 years after he arrived here, and we served together for 18 years. We left together at the same time in 2001.

I personally will miss him and think fondly of the moments we shared together, but, at the same time, say thank goodness—thank goodness—that this place and this country had Senator Pat Moynihan.

He was a great man, with a brilliant mind, an incredible wealth of knowledge. He will have left a mark forever on our Government and on our society, even at a time when our culture has exhibited an ephemeral quality.

We can think of the moments we shared with him, all of us who had the good fortune to serve with him. Because New York and New Jersey are neighboring States and have many similar concerns, he and I worked closely on many issues. We served together on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

He will be rightfully remembered as one of the giants who have served in this Senate. He will be able to be compared to the greats at the founding of this country because his half century

of contributions to this body and to New York and to the region and to the Nation and to the world are immeasurable.

He, like many who are serving now and have served, was born in modest circumstances and was raised in an area on the west side of New York called Hell's Kitchen, a rough and tumble area. He joined the Navy. He served in World War II. And then he went on to earn degrees at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

In the early 1950s, Pat Moynihan worked for the International Rescue Committee, one of the earliest and most effective human rights organizations. Then he joined the administration of New York Governor Averill Harriman, where he met his beloved wife and someone we all love, Liz.

Pat and Liz came to Washington with the Kennedy administration, and Pat went on to serve in the cabinet or sub-cabinet of the next three Presidents, two of whom were Republicans. He served as U.S. Ambassador to India and as U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

All the while, he had a busy and prolific career in academia, with teaching positions at Syracuse and Harvard and other universities. It is often said that Pat Moynihan has written more books than most people have read. And those books were on subjects as diverse as ethnicity, welfare policy, secrecy as form of regulation, and international law. His books and essays and op-eds were always erudite and displayed a wit and wisdom and grace few people have. His books were so well received, whenever they were produced.

I doubt anyone else ever entered the United States Senate with a greater breadth of experience or knowledge. Pat Moynihan was made for the Senate, and the Senate was made for men like Pat Moynihan.

Pat was not only a great intellectual; he was a man of principles, deeply held and eloquently expressed. And yet he had that remarkable ability of being able to disagree without being disagreeable. There isn't a single Member of the Senate who served with him who didn't also love and revere him.

We are poorer for Pat's passing, but rather than dwell on that, I would like to express my gratitude that someone with such inestimable talents and energies devoted them to public service. We are definitely richer for that.

We send our sympathy to Liz Moynihan, and to the children, Timothy and Maura and John, and to the grandchildren, Michael Patrick and Zora.

We live in tumultuous and dangerous times. No one understood that better than Pat Moynihan, and we would benefit from his counsel. I will include for the RECORD a commencement address that Pat delivered at Harvard University about world events and foreign policy, and I commend it to my colleagues.

On a more personal note, my legislative director, Gray Maxwell, was Pat's

legislative director from 1995 to 2000. When Pat retired, Gray wrote a tribute that was printed in *Long Island Newsday*. I will also ask that the tribute be printed in the RECORD.

In closing, I note that one of Pat's great abiding passions was public works—not just in New York but here in Washington. He authored much of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act, ISTEA, he fought for Amtrak and mass transit, he wrote the guiding principles for federal architecture, he shepherded the Union Station redevelopment and the Thurgood Marshall and Ronald Reagan buildings to completion, and he almost single-handedly transformed Pennsylvania Avenue. I think what was written in St. Paul's Cathedral in London for Sir Christopher Wren would serve as an equally fitting tribute to Pat Moynihan: *Si monumentum requiris circumspice* [If you would see the man's monument, look about you.].

I ask unanimous consent that his commencement address delivered at Harvard University on June 6, 2002, to which I referred, and an article written by a person on my staff, Gray Maxwell, who was on the Moynihan staff before that, that demonstrates beautifully the character and capability Pat Moynihan brought to his job and to all of us, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, JUNE 6TH, 2002, BY  
DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

A while back it came as something of a start to find in *The New Yorker* a reference to an article I had written, and I quote, "In the middle of the last century." Yet persons my age have been thinking back to those times and how, in the end, things turned out so well and so badly. Millions of us returned from the assorted services to find the economic growth that had come with the Second World War had not ended with the peace. The Depression had not resumed. It is not perhaps remembered, but it was widely thought it would.

It would be difficult indeed to summon up the optimism that came with this great surprise. My beloved colleague Nathan Glazer and the revered David Riesman wrote that America was "the land of the second chance" and so indeed it seemed. We had surmounted the depression; the war. We could realistically think of a world of stability, peace—above all, a world of law.

Looking back, it is clear we were not nearly so fortunate. Great leaders preserved—and in measure extended—democracy. But totalitarianism had not been defeated. To the contrary, by 1948 totalitarians controlled most of Eurasia. As we now learn, 11 days after Nagasaki the Soviets established a special committee to create an equivalent weapon. The first atomic bomb was acquired through espionage, but their hydrogen bomb was their own doing. Now the Cold War was on. From the summer of 1914, the world had been at war, with interludes no more. It finally seemed to end with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the changes in China. But now . . .

But now we have to ask if it is once again the summer of 1914.

Small acts of terror in the Middle East, in South Asia, could lead to cataclysm, as they

did in Sarajevo. And for which great powers, mindful or not, have been preparing.

The eras are overlapping.

As the United States reacts to the mass murder of 9/11 and prepares for more, it would do well to consider how much terror India endured in the second half of the last century. And its response. It happens I was our man in New Delhi in 1974 when India detonated its first nuclear device. I was sent in to see Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a statement as much as anything of regret. For there was nothing to be done; it was going to happen. The second most populous nation on earth was not going to leave itself disarmed and disregarded, as non-nuclear powers appeared to be. But leaving, I asked to speak as a friend of India and not as an official. In twenty years time, I opined, there would be a Moghul general in command in Islamabad, and he would have nuclear weapons and would demand Kashmir back, perhaps the Punjab.

The Prime Minister said nothing, I dare to think she half agreed. In time, she would be murdered in her own garden; next, her son and successor was murdered by a suicide bomber. This, while nuclear weapons accumulated which are now poised.

Standing at Trinity Site at Los Alamos, J. Robert Oppenheimer pondered an ancient Sanskrit text in which Lord Shiva declares, "I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds." Was he right?

At the very least we can come to terms with the limits or our capacity to foresee events.

It happens I had been a Senate observer to the START negotiations in Geneva, and was on the Foreign Relations Committee when the treaty, having been signed, was sent to us for ratification. In a moment of mischief I remarked to our superb negotiators that we had sent them to Geneva to negotiate a treaty with the Soviet Union, but the document before us was a treaty with four countries, only two of which I could confidently locate on a map. I was told they had exchanged letters in Lisbon [the Lisbon Protocol, May 23, 1992]. I said that sounded like a Humphrey Bogart movie.

The hard fact is that American intelligence had not the least anticipated the implosion of the Soviet Union. I cite Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA in Foreign Affairs, 1991. "We should not gloss over the enormity of this failure to forecast the magnitude of the Soviet crisis. . . . The corporate view missed by a mile."

Russia now faces a near-permanent crisis. By mid-century its population could well decline to as few as 80 million persons. Immigrants will press in; one dares not think what will have happened to the nuclear materials scattered across 11 time zones.

Admiral Turner's 1991 article was entitled "Intelligence for a New World Order." Two years later Samuel Huntington outlined what that new world order—or disorder—would be in an article in the same journal entitled "The Clash of Civilizations." His subsequent book of that title is a defining text of our time.

Huntington perceives a world of seven or eight major conflicting cultures, the West, Russia, China, India, and Islam. Add Japan, South America, Africa. Most incorporate a major nation-state which typically leads its fellows.

The Cold War on balance suppressed conflict. But the end of the Cold War has brought not universal peace but widespread violence. Some of this has been merely residual proxy conflicts dating back to the earlier era. Some plain ethnic conflict. But the new horrors occur on the fault lines, as Huntington has it, between the different cultures.

For argument's sake one could propose that Marxism was the last nearly successful effort to Westernize the rest of the world. In 1975, I stood in Tiananmen Square, the center of the Middle Kingdom. In an otherwise empty space, there were two towering masts. At the top of one were giant portraits of two hirsute 19th century German gentlemen, Messrs. Marx and Engels. The other displayed a somewhat Mongol-looking Stalin and Mao. That wasn't going to last, and of course, it didn't.

Hence Huntington: "The central problem in the relations between the West and the rest is . . . the discordance between the West's—particularly America's—efforts to promote universal Western culture and its declining ability to do so."

Again there seems to be no end of ethnic conflict within civilizations. But it is to the clash of civilizations we must look with a measure of dread. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists recently noted that "The crisis between India and Pakistan, touched off by a December 13th terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament marks the closest two states have come to nuclear war since the Cuban Missile Crisis." By 1991, the minute-hand on their doomsday clock had dropped back to 17 minutes to midnight. It has since been moved forward three times and is again seven minutes to midnight, just where it started in 1947.

The terrorist attacks on the United States of last September 11 were not nuclear, but they will be. Again to cite Huntington, "At some point . . . a few terrorists will be able to produce massive violence and massive destruction. Separately, terrorism and nuclear weapons are the weapons of the non-Western weak. If and when they are combined, the non-Western weak will be strong."

This was written in 1996. The first mass murder by terrorists came last September. Just last month the vice president informed Tim Russert that "the prospects of a future attack . . . are almost certain. Not a matter of if, but when." Secretary Rumsfeld has added that the attack will be nuclear.

We are indeed at war and we must act accordingly, with equal measures of audacity and precaution.

As regards precaution, note how readily the clash of civilizations could spread to our own homeland. The Bureau of the Census lists some 68 separate ancestries in the American population. (Military gravestones provide for emblems of 36 religions.) All the major civilizations. Not since 1910 have we had so high a proportion of immigrants. As of 2000, one in five school-age children have at least one foreign-born parent.

This, as ever, has had bounteous rewards. The problem comes when immigrants and their descendants bring with them—and even intensify—the clashes they left behind. Nothing new, but newly ominous. Last month in Washington an enormous march filled Pennsylvania Avenue on the way to the Capitol grounds. The marchers, in the main, were there to support the Palestinian cause. Fair enough. But every five feet or so there would be a sign proclaiming "Zionism equals Racism" or a placard with a swastika alongside a Star of David. Which is anything but fair, which is poisonous and has no place in our discourse.

This hateful equation first appeared in a two-part series in Pravda in Moscow in 1971. Part of Cold War "agit prop." It has since spread into a murderous attack on the right of the State of Israel to exist—the right of Jews to exist!—a world in which a hateful Soviet lie has mutated into a new and vicious anti-Semitism. Again, that is the world we live in, but it is all the more chilling when it fills Pennsylvania Avenue.

It is a testament to our First Amendment freedoms that we permit such displays, how-

ever obnoxious to our fundamental ideals. But in the wake of 9/11, we confront the fear that such heinous speech can be a precursor to violence, not least here at home, that threatens our existence.

To be sure, we must do what is necessary to meet the threat. We need to better understand what the dangers are. We need to explore how better to organize the agencies of government to detect and prevent calamitous action.

But at the same time, we need take care that whatever we do is consistent with our basic constitutional design. What we do must be commensurate with the threat in ways that do not needlessly undermine the very liberties we seek to protect.

The concern is suspicion and fear within. Does the Park Service really need to photograph every visitor to the Lincoln Memorial?

They don't, but they will. It is already done at the Statue of Liberty. In Washington, agencies compete in techniques of intrusion and exclusion. Identity cards and X-ray machines and all the clutter, plus a new life for secrecy. Some necessary; some discouraging. Mary Graham warns of the stultifying effects of secrecy on inquiry. Secrecy, as George Will writes, "renders societies susceptible to epidemics of suspicion."

We are witnessing such an outbreak in Washington just now. Great clamor as to what the different agencies knew in advance of the 9/11 attack; when the President was briefed; what was he told. These are legitimate questions, but there is a prior issue, which is the disposition of closed systems not to share information. By the late 1940s the Army Signal Corps had decoded enough KGB traffic to have a firm grip on the Soviet espionage in the United States and their American agents. No one needed to know about this more than the President of the United States. But Truman was not told. By order, mind, of Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Now as then there is police work to be done. But so many forms of secrecy are self-defeating. In 1988, the CIA formally estimated the Gross Domestic Product of East Germany to be higher than West Germany. We should calculate such risks.

The "what-ifs" are intriguing. What if the United States had recognized Soviet weakness earlier and, accordingly, kept its own budget in order, so that upon the breakup of the Soviet Union a momentous economic aid program could have been commenced? What if we had better calculated the forces of the future so that we could have avoided going directly from the "end" of the cold War to a new Balkan war—a classic clash of civilizations—leaving little attention and far fewer resources for the shattered Soviet empire?

Because we have that second chance Riesman and Glazer wrote about. A chance to define our principles and stay true to them. The more then, to keep our system open as much as possible, with our purposes plain and accessible, so long as we continue to understand what the 20th century has surely taught, which is that open societies have enemies, too. Indeed, they are the greatest threat to closed societies, and, accordingly, the first object of their enmity.

We are committed, as the Constitution states, to "the Law of Nations," but that law as properly understood. Many have come to think that international law prohibits the use of force. To the contrary, like domestic law, it legitimates the use of force to uphold law in a manner that is itself proportional and lawful.

Democracy may not prove to be a universal norm. But decency would do. Our present conflict, as the President says over and again, is not with Islam, but with a malignant growth within Islam defying the

teaching of the Q'uran that the struggle to the path of God forbids the deliberate killing of noncombatants. Just how and when Islam will rid itself of current heresies is something no one can say. But not soon. Christianity has been through such heresy—and more than once. Other clashes will follow.

Certainly we must not let ourselves be seen as rushing about the world looking for arguments. There are now American armed forces in some 40 countries overseas. Some would say too many. Nor should we let ourselves be seen as ignoring allies disillusioning friends, thinking only of ourselves in the most narrow terms. That is not how we survived the 20th century.

Nor will it serve in the 21st.

Last February, some 60 academics of the widest range of political persuasion and religious belief, a number from here at Harvard, including Huntington, published a manifesto: "What We're Fighting For: A Letter from America."

It has attracted some attention here; perhaps more abroad, which was our purpose. Our references are wide, Socrates, St. Augustine, Franciscus de Victoria, John Paul II, Martin Luther King, Jr., Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We affirmed "five fundamental truths that pertain to all people without distinction," beginning "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

We allow for our own shortcomings as a nation, sins, arrogance, failings. But we assert we are no less bound by moral obligation. And, finally, reason and careful moral reflection teach us that there are times when the first and most important reply to evil is to stop it.

But there is more. Forty-seven years ago, on this occasion, General George C. Marshall summoned our nation to restore the countries whose mad regimes had brought the world such horror. It was an act of statesmanship and vision without equal in history. History summons us once more in different ways, but with even greater urgency. Civilization need not die. At this moment, only the United States can save it. As we fight the war against evil, we must also wage peace, guided by the lesson of the Marshall Plan—vision and generosity can help make the world a safer place.

Thank you.

SUI GENERIS

As the final summer of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's public career comes to an end, I think back to one languid Friday afternoon three summers ago. Not much was happening; the Senate was in recess. So Senator Moynihan—my boss at the time—and I went to see an exhibit of Tyndale Bibles at the Library of Congress. Tyndale wrote the first English Bible from extant Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. Senator Moynihan was eager to learn more about a man whose impact on the English language, largely unacknowledged, is probably equal to Shakespeare's.

One might wonder what Tyndale has to do with the United States Senate. Not much, I suppose. But like Tennyson's Ulysses, Senator Moynihan is a "gray spirit yearning in desire to follow knowledge like a sinking star." He has unbounded curiosity. I'm not one who thinks his intellectualism is some sort of an indictment. Those who do are jealous of his capabilities, or just vapid. In a diminished era when far too many Senators know far too little, I have been fortunate to work for one who knows so much and yet strives to learn so much more.

There is little I can add to what others have written or will write about his career in

these waning moments. But I would make a few observations. On a parochial note, I know of no other Senator who shares his remarkable facility for understanding and manipulating formulas—that arcane bit of legislating that drives the allocation of billions of dollars. He has "delivered" for New York but it's not frequently noted because so few understand it.

More important, every time he speaks or writes, it's worth paying attention. I think back to the summer of 1990, when Senator Phil Gramm offered an amendment to a housing bill. Gramm wanted to rob Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds from a few "rustbelt" States and sprinkle them across the rest of the country. The amendment looked like a sure winner: more than 30 States stood to benefit. Senator Moynihan went to the floor in opposition. He delivered an extemporaneous speech on the nature of our Federal system worthy of inclusion in the seminal work of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay as *The Federalist* No. 86. (The amendment was defeated: New York's share of CDBG funding was preserved.)

While Senator Moynihan has been enormously successful as a legislator, I think of him as the patron Senator of lost causes. By "lost" I mean right but unpopular. Every Senator is an advocate of the middle class; that's where the votes are. What I most admire and cherish about Senator Moynihan is his long, hard, and eloquent fight on behalf of the underclass—the disenfranchised, the demoralized, the destitute, the despised.

T.S. Eliot wrote to a friend, "We fight for lost causes because we know that our defeat and dismay may be the preface to our successors' victory, though that victory itself will be temporary; we fight rather to keep something alive than in the expectation that anything will triumph." This wistful statement, to me, captures the essence of Senator Moynihan and his career. Too many of today's tepid, timid legislators are afraid to offer amendments they think will fail. They have no heart, no courage. Senator Moynihan always stands on principle, never on expediency. He's not afraid to be in the minority, even a minority of one.

His statements over the years on a variety of topics constitute a veritable treasury of "unpopular essays." He characterizes the current bankruptcy "reform" bill as a "boot across the throat" of the poor. A few years ago, he fought against a habeas corpus provision in the "Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty act" (a truly Orwellian name for that bill). He argued, in vain, that Congress was enacting a statute "which holds that constitutional protections do not exist unless they have been unreasonably violated, an idea that would have confounded the framers . . . thus introducing a virus that will surely spread throughout our system of laws." These are just a few examples. Others include his passionate opposition to welfare repeal, the balanced budget act, the "line-item" veto, the Constitutional amendment to ban flag desecration. The list goes on.

For the past quarter-century, Senator Moynihan has been the Senate's reigning intellectual. But he has also been its—and the nation's—conscience. His fealty as a public servant, ultimately, has been to the truth. He seeks it out, and he speaks it, regardless of who will be discomfited. He has done so with rigor, and wit, a little bit of mischief now and then, and uncommon decency.

When Thomas Jefferson followed Benjamin Franklin as envoy to France, he told the Comte de Vergennes, "I succeed him; no one could replace him." Others will succeed Senator Moynihan; no one will replace him. We are fortunate indeed that he has devoted his life to public service.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, when I first came to the Senate, I had the good fortune, as my friend the distinguished Senator from Montana did, to serve on a committee with Pat Moynihan. My friend had it double; he not only got to serve with him on the Environment and Public Works Committee but also the Finance Committee.

Even though this is a time of sadness because we have lost a giant in the history of America, for those of us who spent time with Pat Moynihan, just mentioning his name brings a smile to our faces. There is no one I have ever served with in government or known in government who is anything like Pat Moynihan. He was a unique individual.

I was over in the House gym this morning, meeting with someone I came to the House of Representatives with, ED TOWNS, from New York. We were talking about Pat Moynihan. Congressman TOWNS said the last conversation he had with Pat Moynihan was a very pleasant conversation. Pat Moynihan called him—very typical of Pat Moynihan.

I wish I could mimic his voice. People who worked for Pat Moynihan can talk just like him. I can't. But he said—with his distinctive staccato delivery—he wanted to name this big building in Brooklyn for Governor Carey.

Congressman TOWNS said: No, I have someone else. I don't need to embarrass that person by mentioning that name. He said: I have someone else and I can't agree with you, Senator. I know Governor Carey was a good person, but I think we should name it after someone else.

Senator Moynihan, the gentleman that he was, simply said: Thank you very much.

Five or six weeks later he called back and said: You know, Congressman TOWNS, I am getting old. He said: This means a lot to me to have this building named after one of my close personal friends. I hope you will reconsider.

ED TOWNS said: I have reconsidered. You can do it.

Senator Moynihan said: Did I hear you just say I could name this building after Governor Carey?

And Congressman TOWNS said: Yes.

Pat Moynihan said: I am so happy.

Senator BAUCUS and I can imagine that conversation because he was truly a gentleman.

I had the privilege, as I indicated, of serving with him. I had the good fortune over many years to serve with many outstanding people in the Senate, men and women with extraordinary talent and achievements, people who have accomplished so much in their personal and professional lives, people highly educated, people who have great records of military service, and people who are just good public servants.

Certainly there have been many skilled orators in the Senate—today and in the past—and many other highly intelligent Senators, but I have to

say, I trust nobody will disagree or be offended if I point out that Pat Moynihan stood out as an intellectual giant in the Senate, not only for the time he served here but in the history of our country.

Pat Moynihan spoke in a unique style, with a delivery that would not be taught in an oratory class.

He was a professor. He was a college professor, and he never lost that ability to teach.

I always felt, when I was in the presence of Pat Moynihan, that I had the opportunity to learn from him, whether we were on the Senate floor, or in a committee hearing, or in an informal conversation. I hope no one is going to be upset with me, but when I ran the Democratic Policy Committee for a number of years, we would take down names of speakers. I cheated a little bit and always moved Pat high up on the list because I loved to hear him talk, and he did not have a lot of patience and would leave if you did not recognize him pretty quickly.

He would come to our luncheons, and I remember he usually ordered egg salad sandwiches. He would eat, listen for a while, and if it were not something he was really interested in, he would go back to his hideaway and start writing. That is what he did most of the time.

Pat was unlike most of us. We devote a lot of our time to constituent services. Pat Moynihan did not do that. He was an intellectual giant, and he spent his time in the Senate reading and writing. He was a great thinker. Although he certainly did a good job of representing the State of New York, and served the interests of his constituents as his popularity makes clear, he often focused on the bigger picture and contemplated big ideas.

We identify Pat Moynihan with New York. He was actually a native of the American West. He was born in Tulsa, OK. His family moved to New York when he was a child. His father abandoned them, and his mother, thereafter, struggled to provide for Pat and his siblings.

Pat always worked hard. He worked as a shoeshine boy, later as a long-shoreman. He did not come from a privileged background, but he had a privileged education because of his great intellect. He was able to achieve much because he was a hard worker and extremely smart.

He graduated first in his class from high school in Harlem, and by serving in the Navy, he was able to attend college. He graduated from Tufts University and remained there to earn his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He also studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright Scholar.

Pat had enlisted in the Navy during World War II. Just a short time ago, when he was still serving in the Senate, he had back surgery for an injury sustained years ago while he was in the U.S. Navy. He was proud of his mili-

tary service and grateful that he was sent to college for training as an officer. But he was, indeed, a scholar. He was a professor at Syracuse University early in his career and then later at Harvard. He published numerous articles and studies covering a wide array of topics that reflected the tremendous breadth of his interests and depth of his knowledge.

I am not sure which Senator said this, although I think it was Dale Bumpers, who also recently has published a book—but if it was not Dale Bumpers, I apologize for not giving credit to the right Senator—who said he had not read as many books as Pat Moynihan had written. That is how he looked at Pat Moynihan. He was a voracious writer. He wrote 18 books, including 9 while he was a Senator. In addition, he wrote parts of many other books and articles too numerous to mention.

After one of his books was published, while we here in the Senate, he asked me if I had read it. I said: Pat, I didn't receive the book. He said: Well, maybe somebody on your staff borrowed it. So he gave me another copy, and I read it.

Much of his writing is famous. For me personally the most far-reaching, the most visionary article he wrote was called "Defining Deviancy Down." In this brief article—probably no more than 30 pages—he discussed how our societal values have changed over the years, how one thing we would not accept 20 years ago, now we accept. It is a wonderful article that reveals his perspective and insights and calls on us to recognize we have to change what is going on in our society.

Senator Moynihan had great compassion for America's poor, especially for children growing up in poverty. He sought to develop public policy that took into account social scientific methods and analysis. He applied academic research to benefit people living in the real world.

Pat was also interested in architecture and historic preservation. He worked to improve the appearance of Washington, D.C. to reflect its status as our Nation's Capital, and of federal buildings across the country. Those of us who leave the Capitol and travel along Pennsylvania Avenue, and see the beautiful buildings will remember his role in improving this area. When I was back here going to law school, that area of the city was a slum. It was a slum. Right off Capitol Hill, it was a slum. And Pat Moynihan recognized, when President Kennedy was inaugurated, that should change. And he changed it. He personally changed it.

Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation was something that Pat Moynihan thought up. When you drive down that street today, you see the beautiful building that we are proud of, that is part of the U.S. Capitol. That was the work of Pat Moynihan.

I can remember, there was one Senator who thought it was really bad that the courthouses we were building

around the country were basically too nice. Pat Moynihan proceeded to indicate to all of us that is what we should do, that we should construct buildings for the future that people would like to look at that are nice inside. And Pat Moynihan won that battle.

To serve on the Public Works Committee with Pat Moynihan was like going to school and not having to take the tests because there was not a subject that came up that he did not lecture us on—the great architect Moses, not out of the Bible but of New York City. In everything we did Pat Moynihan taught us to be a little better than ourselves.

My thoughts and sympathies are with Senator Moynihan's wife Liz, his daughter Maura, his sons Timothy and John, and his grandchildren.

Mr. President, I wish words could convey to everyone within the sound of my voice what a great man Pat Moynihan was, how much he did to benefit the State of New York and our country. Because of my contact with Pat Moynihan, I honestly believe I am a better person. I better understand government. I do not have his intellect, his ability to write, but I think I understand a little bit about his enthusiasm for government and how important it is to people.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I have been listening to the tributes to a great man. I probably have a different feeling about Patrick Moynihan than most people do. Many people are not aware Patrick Moynihan came from Tulsa, OK, my hometown. Most people think of him as being a New Yorker, but really he is not. We hit it off many years ago before he was even in the Senate. I considered him one of the really sincere and lovable liberals of our time.

People would ask, why are the two of you such close friends? I would explain to them that we have many things in common, even though ideologically we have nothing in common. In fact, during the years we served together in the Senate, his office was next to mine. When the bell would ring to come over and vote, I would walk to the door and wait for him so I could have those moments with him.

I don't think there is anyone who has had a more colorful career than Patrick Moynihan. It is one we will remember for a long time. But he had courage also. I used to say this about Paul Wellstone. There are few people who are really sincere in their philosophy, and yet they want to do the right thing. I remember standing right here when Patrick Moynihan, just a few seats over, stood up during one of our debates on partial-birth abortion, and he made this statement in a long and passionate speech, going into all kinds of detail as to what this barbaric procedure is. This is a quote. He said:

I am pro-choice, but partial-birth abortion is not abortion. It is infanticide.

It took an awful lot of courage for him to say that.

I can tell you from when we knew each other back before our Senate days, following his colorful career has been a wonderful experience. I am hoping we will have others like him. We will be truly blessed if that is the case. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator Moynihan. He was one of the most special, most erudite, forward-thinking persons I have had the privilege to meet. He was an amazing man.

Senator Moynihan died yesterday at the age of 76. With a little bit of history—and then I will give a few personal anecdotes—he was elected to the Senate in 1976. I was elected in 1978, 2 years later. I had the privilege and honor to join both the Environment and Public Works Committee and the Finance Committee at the same time as Senator Moynihan. Senator Moynihan served as both chairman and ranking member of both committees. I had huge shoes to fill, as I immediately followed him as chairman and ranking member of each committee. I sat next to him many days and many hours. He was a wonderful man.

We all know about Senator Moynihan's great contributions in such important areas as foreign policy, trade policy, welfare, transportation, and environmental policy. They are enormous.

On the foreign side, Senator Moynihan was a visionary. In 1979, while the CIA and others were talking about how strong the Soviet Union was, Senator Moynihan predicted its downfall. I heard him say that many times. With keen understanding of history and the laws of economics, Senator Moynihan understood the inherent weakness of the Soviet structure.

Senator Moynihan's foreign policy experience led him to his groundbreaking work on Government secrecy, advocating greater openness as a core strength for any democracy.

On trade policy, Senator Moynihan had a vast depth of experience from being a trade negotiator to being a legislator. As a legislator, he was quick to educate his colleagues on the importance of pursuing a strong, bipartisan, open trade policy. With an unflinching independent voice, he was a firm believer in the principle that partisanship should not extend beyond our borders.

On welfare policy, Senator Moynihan was the center of debate for more than three decades. From his groundbreaking report on family policy for President Johnson, to his work for President Nixon on his welfare proposal, to his own Family Support Act of 1988, the first welfare reform legislation passed in decades, to his passionate dissent to the 1996 welfare legislation, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan never forgot what it was like to grow up in a poor family. For him it was clearly always about helping the children.

On transportation policy, Senator Moynihan was the author of the groundbreaking highway bill known as ISTEA. That legislation led to the dramatic improvement in transportation policy by focusing on surface transportation more broadly.

On environmental policy, Senator Moynihan was one of the first to stress that good environmental policy should be based on sound science. I heard that many times—sound science. He was right. He absolutely insisted that we obtain a careful understanding of the scientific problems and understanding of them on a scientific basis before we proceeded with environmental policy.

But his incredible contributions to our Nation did not stop there. One of his most enduring, but least known, contributions was his contribution to public architecture, particularly on the Environment and Public Works Committee.

Thomas Jefferson said:

Design activity and political thought are indivisible.

In keeping with this, Senator Moynihan sought to improve our public places so they could reflect and uplift our civic culture. He himself said it well in 1961. We all know he held many important positions in Government, but it is not known so well that early in his career, in 1961, he was the staff director of something called the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space. That is right, in addition to all of his books, he once wrote a document called "The Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture." He wrote it in 1961, and it remains in effect today. It is one page long. It says that public buildings should not only be efficient and economical, but also should "provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American Government."

For many years, Pat Moynihan worked with energy and vision to put the goals expressed in the guidelines into practice. As an assistant to President Kennedy, he was one of the driving forces behind the effort to renovate Pennsylvania Avenue and finally achieve Pierre L'Enfant's vision.

He followed through. There is the Navy memorial, Pershing Park, the Ronald Reagan Building, and Ariel Rios, and there are other projects. Along with Senator John Chafee, he had the vision to restore Union Station—now a magnificent building—and then to complement it with the beautiful Thurgood Marshall Judiciary Building not far away.

It is a remarkable legacy leaving a lasting mark on our public places that brings us together as American citizens. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Daniel Patrick Moynihan has had a greater positive impact on American public architecture than any statesman since Thomas Jefferson.

In St. Paul's Cathedral in London, there is a description memorializing the architect of that cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren, and it reads: If you

would see his memorial, look about you.

If years from now you stand outside the Capitol and look west down Pennsylvania Avenue, north at Union Station, and the Marshall Building, you can say the same about Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan; that is, if you would see his memorial, look about you.

A few years ago when we were naming the Foley Square Courthouse in his honor, I used the same quote. I must confess, I was very pleased to have found this quote in English history and hoped to impress my very learned colleague. However, as is often the case, I fell a little short. No one, it turns out, can match his learning.

After my remarks, Senator Moynihan gave me a big hug. He was so happy. But he also corrected me quietly and politely. I had, he said, given the correct translation. I had said it was in Italian. He said: MAX, I think it's in Latin. Sure enough, it is in Latin.

In his honor, I stand corrected. The inscription memorializing the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, Sir Christopher Wren, reads: Si monumentum requiris, circumspice; Latin for: If you want to see the memorial, look about you.

As we consider ways of memorializing Senator Moynihan, I have a suggestion. He loved Pennsylvania Avenue. He inspired its renovation. He helped design it. He helped build it. He lived there when he retired. It is his home. Therefore, I suggest that at an appropriate point on the avenue, we add his inscription: Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.

I might also add, Senator Moynihan gave the commencement address this last June at Harvard University. I have read it. I was very impressed with it. I said to him: Patrick, that was a great speech. Do you mind if I put that in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD? He said: I would love it.

About 2 months later, I received a letter from Senator Moynihan, and it said: Dear Max, you once offered, perhaps irrationally, to include my commencement address in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I think it is appropriate that Senator LAUTENBERG asked that Senator Moynihan's speech be printed in the RECORD. It is the commencement address he gave last June 6 at Harvard University. I commend it to my colleagues.

Senator Moynihan's speech includes many wise words about the future of our country, about terrorism, how to handle the world, which leads me to another memory of him. It was at the end of a session, and we were about to go on a 2-week recess. Senator Moynihan's chair is behind me at the end of the aisle by the door. I said: Patrick, what are you going to do this recess?

He said: I am going to give the Oxford lecture.

I said: What is that? He explained it.

He said: I am going to give the Oxford lecture. I am going over to England.

What are you going to talk about? What are you going to say?

I am going to talk about the rise of ethnicity.

What do you mean?

At the end of the cold war, he talked about the urdu, an Israeli sect, which was very strong, which epitomizes the rise of ethnicity in the world at the conclusion of the cold war. It is so true, if one stops and thinks about it. The world order has collapsed, and we are now almost in a free-for-all when different ethnicities, different countries, different people are pursuing their own dreams, and it is very difficult to find some managed order in this chaotic world today.

That was Senator Moynihan: The rise of ethnicity. It is very true.

Another time, I had a wonderful encounter with him, a wonderful exchange. People often ask us: What is going to happen, Senator? Who is going to win this election? What is going to happen?

I always answered: Well, as Prime Minister Disraeli would always say, in politics a week is a long time. That was before television. That was before radio. Today, it is even a shorter period of time to try to predict what is going to happen in political matters. Sometimes it is just a minute.

I was standing in the well of the Senate and somebody asked me: What is going to happen? And I said: Well, Disraeli said, in politics a week is a long time.

Senator Moynihan happened to overhear me, and very graciously and politely he walked up to me when the other Senators had left. He kind of leaned over to me and he said: MAX, now I think that was Baldwin.

I looked it up. Sure enough, it was Lord Baldwin—it was not Disraeli—who said, in politics a week is a long time.

He was an absolutely amazing man, the Senator's Senator, a professor. I have never known a Senator so gifted as Senator Moynihan. We are all going to certainly mourn his passing, but even more important than that, we are going to have very fond memories of him and I think be guided and inspired by him in so many different ways. We are very thankful he chose to serve our country as his calling.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I am going to make a longer speech about Pat Moynihan, who was a close personal friend. That sounds almost presumptuous to say. He was such a towering intellect and profound political figure, to claim a personal friendship with him seems to be somewhat presumptuous. But he was.

Of all that I recall Pat Moynihan said and did, there is one thing that sticks in my mind that seems particularly appropriate on the day after his passing.

He once said, and I am paraphrasing but it is close to a quote, about John Kennedy's death:

There is no sense in being Irish unless you understand the world is eventually going to break your heart.

I want Mrs. Moynihan to understand that there are a lot of us—Irish and non-Irish—who have a broken heart today because of the passing of a man who was truly, truly a giant in 20th-century American politics.

#### HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Madam President, I rise today to pay tribute to the brave service men and women from Georgia who are serving in Operation Iraqi Freedom and Enduring Freedom. Several weeks ago I had the privilege of being in Fort Stewart, GA, which is located in Hinesville, to visit with several hundred of our men and women preparing to leave as soon as we finished our visit to board an airplane headed for Kuwait. They are members of the 3rd Infantry Division, one of the more notable infantry divisions in the history of our great country. I swelled with pride as I had the opportunity to visit with those men and women who were so prepared, so well trained, and so well equipped to ensure that democracy and freedom continue to ring and to do what is necessary on their part to free the people of Iraq from the dreaded rule of Saddam Hussein.

The 3rd Infantry Division is known as the "Rock of the Marne." They fought bravely in World War I and they held their ground during the Battle of Marne when surrounding units retreated. Since then they have been operating under the motto "we'll stay there." Their most famous soldier was one of the most decorated soldiers in the history of the United States, Audie Murphy. They have a proud history of serving in World War II, the Korean war, and Operation Desert Storm.

Georgia and America can be proud of the history that the 3rd is making today in Iraq. Currently, there are over 7,000 tanks, humvees, Bradley armored vehicles, and trucks in theater. This is undoubtedly one of the largest convoys ever in the history of the United States Military. They are facing heavy resistance and fierce sandstorms, but because of their training and their preparation, thankfully they have suffered only light casualties.

This morning, as we speak, the 3rd Infantry Division is less than 50 miles from Baghdad, preparing to encounter the elite Iraqi Republican Guard. Over the last 3 days, soldiers from the 3rd Infantry Division have surrounded the city of Najaf and taken captive over 500 Iraqi soldiers in their effort to liberate the Iraqi people and overthrow the oppressive Iraqi regime.

In addition to the 3rd Infantry Division, there are many other brave men and women deployed from Georgia to the Middle East and Afghanistan, including the 94th Airlift Wing from Dobbs Air Reserve Base in Atlanta; the 165th Airlift Wing from Savannah; the 4th Supply Battalion from the Marine

Corps Logistics Base in Albany, GA, which is near my home; the Marine Aviation Logistics Squadron from the Naval Air Station in Atlanta; the 221st Military Intelligence Battalion in Atlanta, from the Army Reserve, and the 116th Air Control Wing from Robins Air Force Base, who are very proud of flying the Joint Stars weapon system.

I have had the privilege of representing Robins Air Force Base for the last 8 years as a Member of the House. I have flown with the Joint Stars about four times. They are so proud of the work they do, and justly so. They are the eyes of the Army when it comes to gathering intelligence on the enemy and its movement.

Sadly, they are also prisoners of war and brave soldiers that have been killed and wounded in the line of duty from Georgia. Just this week, there was an Apache helicopter shot down. On that helicopter were two chief warrant officers, Rob Young from Lithia Springs, GA, and David Williams. Both of these men now are prisoners of war of the Iraqi Army.

I had the opportunity to visit with Officer Young's father on Tuesday this week. He was obviously, like all of his family and all Americans, very concerned about the health and safety of his son. But he was so proud of the work that his son was doing and so proud that his son was doing exactly what he wanted to do. I share in that pride with his family.

Killed in action in Iraq over the last couple of days have been Specialist Jamall R. Addison of the 507th Maintenance Company from Fort Bliss, TX, who is a resident of Roswell, GA; Specialist Gregory P. Sanders from Company B, 3rd Battalion of 69th Armor, stationed at Fort Stewart, GA.

Unfortunately, also killed in the helicopter crash in Afghanistan over the last few days, they were flying a Pave Hawk search and rescue helicopter, 1LT Tamara Archuleta, SSgt Jason Hicks, MSgt Michael Maltz, SrA Jason Plite, LTC John Stein, and SSgt John Teal, all from Moody Air Force Base in Valdosta, GA. We will be praying for them and their families in this time of hardship and sorrow.

The men and women I have described are all part of the All-Volunteer Force that make up the best and brightest our country has to offer. They have chosen to put their lives on the line for the freedom of their families and their country, and we could never adequately express our gratitude for the sacrifice they and their families have made and will continue to make for the United States.

I am proud of all of these young men and women. I salute them. We want to make sure they and their families know they continue to be in our prayers. We wish for immediate success and a safe return of all.

I yield the floor.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Madam President, in the early stages of the conflict with